

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 AEC-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-05 L-02

NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAI-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-05

ACDA-05 ISO-00 ACDE-00 EB-04 /084 W

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P R 111740Z NOV 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0609

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0116

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0403

FROM US REP MBFR

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD NOV 4-10, 1974

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: DISCUSSION IN THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS
THIS WEEK ABOUT EVENLY DIVIDED BETWEEN THE EASTERN
INITIAL REDUCTION PROPOSAL AND THE ALLIED SUGGESTIONS
THAT PARTICIPANTS AGREE ON A DEFINITION OF GROUND
FORCES AND EXCHANGE DATA. NEITHER SIDE SHOWED
RECEPTIVITY TO THE OTHER'S PROPOSALS. EASTERN
REPS SO FAR HAVE REFUSED TO ENGAGE THE ALLIES IN SERIOUS

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DISCUSSION OF GROUND FORCE RECATEGORIZATION OR TO

ENTER INTO DATA EXCHANGE. IN THE NOV 5 INFORMAL MEETING, ALLIED REPS PRESENTED A COMPREHENSIVE CRITIQUE OF THE EASTERN FIRST STEP PROPOSAL. BUT THE UK FOREIGN OFFICE WOULD NOT AGREE TO A DETAILED CRITICISM OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL IN PLENARY AS EARLY AS NOV 7. THE NOV 7 WESTERN PLENARY STATEMENT WAS THEREFORE LIMITED TO A STANDARD WESTERN PRESENTATION ON PHASING, WITH ONLY A BRIEF NEGATIVE COMMENT ON THE EASTERN PROPOSAL. THE AD HOC GROUP AGREED THAT A MORE COMPREHENSIVE CRITIQUE SHOULD BE MADE IN THE NOV 14 WESTERN PLENARY STATEMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. THE NOVEMBER 5 INFORMAL SESSION SET THE TONE FOR THE VIENNA TALKS THIS WEEK. THE MAIN TOPICS OF DISCUSSION WERE THE ALLIED PROPOSAL THAT PARTICIPANTS AGREE ON A DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES AND EXCHANGE DATA, AND THE EASTERN INITIAL STEP REDUCTION PROPOSAL.

3. ON DATA EXCHANGE, ALLIED REPS POINTED OUT THAT, WHILE MAINTAINING THEIR POSITION ON REDUCTIONS, THEY WERE WILLING TO HAVE RECIPROCAL EXCHANGE OF DATA ON BOTH GROUND AND AIR FORCE TOTALS. AFTER A LENGTHY BREAK FOR CONSULTATION WITH HIS PACT COLLEAGUES, SOVIET REP KHLESTOV RESPONDED WITH THE STANDARD EASTERN POSITION THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO DISCUSSION OF DATA UNTIL AFTER AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED ON ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE SUCH AS WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET AND ON THE KIND OF FORCES TO BE REDUCED. ON THIS LATTER POINT, KHLESTOV ASKED WHETHER THE ALLIED REMARKS MEANT THAT THE WEST WAS NOW READY TO REDUCE ALL FORCES IN THE AREA. ALLIED REPS POINTED OUT THAT THEY HAD NOT CHANGED IN THEIR OPPOSITION TO REDUCTION OF AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES. BUT SINCE THEY HAD ALREADY OFFERED TO EXCHANGE DATA ON GROUND FORCE TOTALS AND NOW HAD SUGGESTED EXCHANGE OF DATA ON AIR FORCE TOTALS, THESE EXCHANGES WOULD IN FACT COVER ALL ARMED FORCE PERSONNEL IN THE AREA, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE NAVY. ALLIED REPS SAID IT WOULD BE ADVANTAGEOUS FOR BOTH SIDES, AND WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THEIR POSITION ON OTHER SUBJECTS, TO ENGAGE NOW IN A DISCUSSION OF DATA. KHLESTOV ASKED

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NO QUESTIONS ABOUT DETAILS OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL FOR A NEW REVISED DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES, CLAIMING IT WAS UP TO THE WEST TO CORRECT INACCURACIES IN ITS OWN FIGURES.

4. POLISH REP (STRULAK) BROUGHT THE INFORMAL DISCUSSION BACK TO THE EASTERN FIRST STEP PROPOSAL. AS HE AND OTHER EASTERN REPS HAVE DONE IN SEVERAL BILATERALS, STRULAK

COMPLAINED THAT THE WEST HAD GIVEN THIS PROPOSAL CAVALIER TREATMENT AND HAD NOT EVEN ASKED QUESTIONS ABOUT IT. INREPLY, US REP COMPARED THE PROGRESSIVE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALLIED POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF COMMITMENTS TO REDUCE AND COMMITMENTS ON TIMING AND AMOUNTS OF REDUCTIONS, WITH THE UNCHANGED ORIGINAL EASTERN REQUIREMENT THAT ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD UNDERTAKE SPECIFIC COMMITMENTS ON AMOUNT AND TIMING OF THEIR REDUCTIONS BEFORE ANY REDUCTIONS COULD TAKE PLACE. THE GDR REP (OESER) CLAIMED THAT THE ALLIED PROPOSAL, OF A COMMITMENT BY THE REMAINING WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS EXCEPT LUXEMBOURG TO REDUCE TO A COMMON CEILING IN A SECOND PHASE, WAS NOT A GENUINE OBLIGATION AND EVADED THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF MUTUALITY, WHICH HAD BEEN AGREED ON DURING THE PRELIMINARY TALKS.

5. ON THE BASIS OF TALKING POINTS APPROVED BY THE AD HOC GROUP, NETHERLANDS REP ASKED SEVERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF THE EASTERN FIRST STEP PROPOSAL. KHLESTOV SAID HE WOULD PREFER TO ANSWER THESE QUESTIONS ON THE NEXT OCCASION IN VIEW OF THE LATE HOUR. THESE EASTERN ANSWERS AND ALLIED REJOINDERS ARE LIKELY TO CONSUME A CONSIDERABLE PART OF THE NOV 12 INFORMAL. THE AD HOC GROUP AGREED TO MAINTAIN THE CURRENT WESTERN TACTIC OF PRESSING THE EAST ON THE NEED FOR AN AGREED GROUND FORCE DEFINITION AND ON THE DESIRABILITY OF DATA EXCHANGE.

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 ACDE-00 EB-04 AEC-05

CIAE-00 H-01 INR-05 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01

PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-05 /089 W

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P R 111740Z NOV 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0610

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0117
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

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FROM US REP MBFR

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

6. ALLIED REPS PRESENTED A COMPREHENSIVE CRITIQUE OF THE EASTERN FIRST STEP PROPOSAL DURING THE NOVEMBER 5 INFORMAL SESSION AND, PURSUANT TO AN EARLIER AHG DECISION, HAD INTENDED TO REITERATE THEIR DETAILED CRITICISM IN THE WESTERN NOVEMBER 7 PLENARY SPEECH DELIVERED BY UK REP ROSE. HOWEVER, EARLY THIS WEEK, UK REP (ROSE) RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS FROM LONDON WHICH PREVENTED THE UK DEL FROM JOINING THE AHG CONSENSUS THAT A DEFINITIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE RESPONSE SHOULD BE MADE IN PLENARY AS EARLY AS NOVEMBER 7. US REP WAS SUPPORTED BY ALL OTHER KEY DELEGATIONS IN URGING THAT
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THE ALLIES RESPOND FULLY AND PROMPTLY, AT THE NOVEMBER 7 PLENARY, IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN PRESSURE ON THE EAST TO DROP ITS FIRST STEP PROPOSAL. ROSE WAS REMINDED BY SEVERAL ALLIED DELEGATIONS THAT WESTERN REPS HAD ALREADY CRITICIZED THE EASTERN PROPOSAL IN DETAIL DURING THREE INFORMAL MEETINGS. HENCE, AN INCONSISTENT WESTERN LINE DURING THE NOVEMBER 7 PLENARY, WHEN THE EAST (AND THE PRESS) WAS EXPECTING AN ALLIED RESPONSE, COULD ONLY BE CONFUSING TO THE EAST AND UNPRODUCTIVE FROM THE STANDPOINT OF WESTERN TACTICS. THE UK REP, WHO WAS ISOLATED WITHIN THE AD HOC GROUP, REPLIED THAT THE UK AGREED THAT THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WAS UNACCEPTABLE. BUT, IN VIEW OF THE OFFICIAL CHARACTER OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL AND THE IMPORTANCE OSTENSIBLY ATTACHED TO IT BY THE SOVIETS, LONDON THOUGHT IT "TACTICALLY UNWISE AND UNNECESSARY" TO REPLY SO SOON IN PLENARY.

7. IN VIEW OF THE RIGID UK POSITION, AND AFTER A LONG DISCUSSION, THE AHG FINALLY APPROVED A STANDARD WESTERN PRESENTATION ON PHASING, WHICH WAS DELIVERED NOVEMBER 7 BY ROSE. THAT STATEMENT ALSO CONTAINED (ON THE FIRST PAGE) THE

FOLLOWING PARAGRAPH DEALING WITH THE EASTERN INITIAL REDUCTION PROPOSAL: QUOTE - WE FEEL OBLIGED TO POINT OUT THAT, ALTHOUGH THIS PROPOSAL CONTAINS SOME POSITIVE ASPECTS, IT IS NOT SUBSTANTIALLY NEW. IT DOES NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE BASIC CONCERNS WHICH WE HAVE EXPRESSED, IN PARTICULAR THE NEED TO DIMINISH THE GROUND FORCE DISPARITIES IN A FIRST PHASE, TO BUILD CONFIDENCE THROUGH FIRST PHASE REDUCTIONS LIMITED TO US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES, AND TO ESTABLISH OVERALL LEVELS FOR GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN THE FORM OF A COMMON CEILING. END QUOTE.

8. IN APPROVING THE UK STATEMENT ON NOVEMBER 6, THE AHG ALSO DECIDED, WITH THE UK DEL'S ASSENT, THAT A COMPREHENSIVE CRITIQUE OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL SHOULD BE PRESENTED IN A NOVEMBER 14 WESTERN PLENARY STATEMENT. UK DELOFFS HAVE TOLD US BILATERALLY THAT THEY EXPECT NO OBJECTION FROM LONDON TO A CLEAR STATEMENT IN PLENARY DETAILING THE POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL. BUT THEY ADD THAT LONDON MAY REMAIN CHARY ABOUT "UNDULY CATEGORICAL" INTRODUCTORY OR CONCLUDING PASSAGES IN SUCH A PLENARY STATEMENT. IN THIS CONNECTION, FRG DELOFFS HAVE INFORMED US THAT, IN A DEMARCHE EARLIER THIS WEEK IN BONN, THE UK EMBASSY
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TOLD THE GERMANS THAT LONDON'S DECISION TO AVOID A DETAILED CRITIQUE OF THE FIRST STEP PROPOSAL IN THE NOVEMBER 7 PLENARY WAS TAKEN AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL.

9. AT THE NOVEMBER 7 PLENARY, FOLLOWING THE UK STATEMENT, THE CZECHOSLOVAK REP(KLEIN) REQUESTED THE FLOOR TO COMMENT ON "THIS FIRST REACTION" OF WESTERN DELEGATIONS TO THE INITIAL REDUCTION PROPOSAL. KLEIN SAID THE MAIN EASTERN AIM IN INTRODUCING THE INITIAL REDUCTION PROPOSAL WAS TO FIND A BASIS FOR A FIRST AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY AND WHICH WOULD PROVIDE AN IMPETUS TO FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS ON MORE SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS, WHICH THE EAST CONSIDERS NECESSARY. KLEIN WENT ON TO NOTE ALLIED CRITICISM OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL AND TO COUNTER WESTERN ARGUMENTS BY CITING PACT MOVES TOWARD WESTERN POSITIONS (PHASING AND US/SOVIET DIFFERENTIATION). HE CONTRASTED THE "COMPROMISE CHARACTER" OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WITH THE APPARENT WESTERN ATTITUDE THAT CURRENT ALLIED POSITIONS ARE THE ONLY BASIS FOR AGREEMENT. KLEIN CONCLUDED BY AGAIN INVITING THE WEST TO WEIGH CAREFULLY THE EASTERN INITIAL REDUCTION PROPOSAL.

10. IN BILATERALS THIS WEEK, THE POLISH AND GDR REPS EXPRESSED SOME CONCERN REGARDING US FORCE RESTRUCTURING DESIGNED TO INCREASE AMERICAN COMBAT FORCES IN THE FRG. THE EAST GERMANS, PERHAPS ECHOING BREZHNEV'S COMMENTS TO CHANCELLER SCHMIDT IN MOSCOW LAID MORE STRESS ON THE DANGERS OF US FORCES IN GERMANY THAN ON WEST EUROPEAN REDUCTIONS. BUT THE EAST MADE NO REFERENCE TO THIS US FORCE RESTRUCTURING

DURING THE WEEK'S INFORMAL OR PLENARY MEETINGS. THE AD HOC GROUP ALSO NOTED BREZHNEV'S COMMENT TO SCHMIDT THAT CONCLUSION OF CSCE COULD FACILITATE PROGRESS IN DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS, SUCH AS MBFR AND SALT.

11. IN THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS FIELD, THE AD HOC GROUP APPROVED CONTINGENCY GUIDANCE FOR THE ALLIED SPOKESMAN COVERING STATEMENTS IN THE WESTERN PRESS, BASED ON PRIOR EASTERN LEAKS, TO THE EFFECT THAT THE PACT HAS AGREED TO THE US AND SOVIET UNION REDUCING FIRST. DURING THE NOV 5 INFORMAL MEETING, AHG REPS AGAIN CRITICIZED THE EAST FOR DIVULGING PORTIONS OF THEIR PROPOSAL TO THE PRESS. SOVIET REP KHLESTOV ACCUSED THE
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WEST OF LEAKING EARLIER, BUT DID NOT DENY THE EASTERN RESPONSIBILITY IN THIS CASE. AT THE NOV 7 POST-PLENARY PRESS BRIEFING, THE EASTERN SPOKESMEN WERE VERY CAREFUL TO AVOID DIVULGING FURTHER DETAILS.

12. COMMENT: WE HAVE NOTED US DEL CSCE WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS REPORT (GENEVA 6835) TO THE EFFECT THAT CSCE REMAINS STALLED DUE TO HARD LINE SOVIET POSITIONS ON BASKET III AND OTHER KEY OUTSTANDING ISSUES. AS THE NETHERLANDS REP COMMENTED AT THE NOV 6 AHG MEETING, THE SOVIETS ALSO APPEAR CONTENT TO STICK WITH THEIR CURRENT TACTICAL POSITION IN VIENNA, I.E. EXTOLLING THE EASTERN FIRST STEP PROPOSAL AS A COMPROMISE SOLUTION, CRITICIZING THE WESTERN POSITION AND REFUSING SO FAR TO EXCHANGE DATA OR SERIOUSLY TO DISCUSS A GROUND FORCE DEFINITION. THE FACT THAT THE EAST HAS CONTINUED TO CONCENTRATE ITS ATTENTION ON THIS UN-ACCEPTABLE PROPOSAL TO THE EXCLUSION OF ALL OTHER TOPICS HAS PRECLUDED PROGRESS IN THE FOURTH ROUND OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. IT ALSO THREATENS TO DEPRIVE THE ALLIES OF THE NEGOTIATING INITIATIVE IN VIENNA, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF THE NOW NEARLY EXHAUSTED AHG NEGOTIATING PROGRAM FOR THIS ROUND. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, AND BASED ON THE
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